

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 108

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF U.S.A.

43 E. 125th St., New York City

AGITPROP DEPARTMENT

December 27, 1929

DISCUSSION OUTLINE FOR LENIN CAMPAIGN

6. *Why it is impermissible to violate Party Discipline.*

a) *The Communist Party is based on the principle of Democratic centralization, i.e., absolute subordination of the minority to the majority of the Party, of lower Party organs to higher bodies. Otherwise the Party will be weakened, its authority undermined, and will only strengthen the position of the enemy. "The negation of Party and Party discipline is the result of the opposition. This is akin to disarming the proletariat in favor of the bourgeoisie. It is akin to that petty bourgeois looseness, instability, incapacity for steady, unified and harmonious action, which, if encouraged, must bring to nought every proletarian revolutionary movement."* (Lenin, "Infantile Sickness")

b) *The Party has a right to use all measures against those who violate Party discipline.*

"Breaches of Party discipline by individual members may be published by censure, public censure, dismissal from office, suspension from the Party, and expulsion from the Party" (from the "Statutes of the Communist Party" adopted at the 6th National Convention.)

One who fights the Soviet Union and the Comintern is an agent of capitalism directed against our Party in its campaign to mobilize the workers against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

III. OUR TASKS

1. To widely popularize in the Party and in working class organizations the principles of Lenin, especially at this moment, on War and the Role of the Communist Party.

2. To popularize the slogan of civil war against American capitalism.

3. To struggle against pacifism, social-democratic propaganda of disarmament and peace. Building the revolutionary trade unions of the Communist Party is the first guarantee of our ability to mobilize the workers for the struggle against war and in defense of the Soviet Union.

4. To establish functioning nuclei amongst the armed forces of American capitalism.

5. To devote more attention to the role of American imperialism and American colonies and protectorates and for direct support of these colonial countries in their struggle against American imperialism.

6. To establish anti-war committees in the factories and link up the struggle against war with the every-day struggles of the workers.

7. Fill our quota in the present recruiting drive of the Party.

8. To struggle against the right danger in the Party, particularly against Lovestone.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 109

STALIN'S SPEECHES ON THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

DELIVERED IN THE AMERICAN COMMISSION OF THE PRESIDUM
OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL, MAY 6, 1929

AND

IN THE PRESIDUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON THE AMERICAN QUESTION,
MAY 14TH, 1929

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

PREFACE

The speeches of Comrade Stalin in the American Commission and at the meeting of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, published herewith, have not only historical but also present political importance. At once they show the line of the Sixth Congress in action and the application to the Communist Party of the United States, of the Sixth Congress decisions on the fight against the Right danger.

To the gloomy predictions of Lovestone and Gitlow, that the Comintern Address will destroy the American Party, Comrade Stalin answered:

"No comrades, the American Communist Party, will not perish. It will live and flourish to the dismay of the enemies of the working class. Only one small factional group will perish if it continues to be stubborn, if it does not submit to the will of the Comintern, if it continues to adhere to its errors."

These words could be written upon the political grave, or better said, on the Brandlerite political sewer in which now rests Lovestone, Gitlow & Co.

Comrade Gitlow read it here during the course of his speech. The fundamental feature of this declaration is that it proclaims the thesis of *non-submission* to the decisions of the Presidium of the E. C. C. That means that the extreme factionalism of the leaders of the majority has driven them into the path of insubordination, and hence of warfare against the Comintern.

Thirdly, in that factionalism, by weakening the will for unity in the Party and by undermining its iron discipline, creates within the Party a peculiar factional regime, as a result of which the whole internal life of our Party is robbed of its conspirative protection in the face of the class enemy, and the Party itself runs the danger of being transformed into a plaything of the agents of the bourgeoisie.

As a result, important secret decisions of the Party become general knowledge. In this way the agents of the bourgeoisie attain access to the secret decisions of the Party and make it easy to use the knowledge of the internal life of the Party against the interests of the Party.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 117

Daily Worker

AUGUST 24, 1929

ENLIGHTENMENT CAMPAIGN ON THE COMINTERN ADDRESS
TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Statement of Political Bureau on Expulsions

Pursuant to the Polbureau decisions of August 12th, the Secretariat of the Central Committee addressed individual

letters to all the Party members named in this decision and demanded an answer from them within 48 hours. These individual letters have now been answered by a collective statement signed by D. Benjamin, B. Gitlow, W. Miller, M. Nemser, E. Welsh, W. White, B. Wolfe, and H. Zam.

In their declaration the signatories declare that "The Address and line of the Polbureau based upon it are wrong and injurious," and that "On the basis of the Address the Political Committee is proceeding to wreck the Party," and further, that "we will not cease our struggle," and, finally, that "we fight against the line of the Address and its application by the Polbureau."

The Polbureau and the E. C. C. I. demanded of these members of the Party a repudiation of their declaration of war against the Comintern. They answered this demand by declaring "we will not cease our struggle" and "we fight against the line of the Address and its application by the Polbureau."

The Polbureau and the E. C. C. I. demanded of these members of the Party a repudiation of their insolent counter-revolutionary cable to the E. C. C. I. They ignore this demand.

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The statement of these Party members again reiterated the Lovestone opportunist platform in opposition to the line of the Sixth World Congress. With petty-bourgeois arrogance it declares that the right and duty to define the line of the Communist International does not rest with the Communist International but from among all the millions of members of the Comintern, from among all the dozens of sections of the Comintern, falls upon the shoulders of Lovestone. With the powers of sole arbiter thus allocated to Lovestone, the document proceeds to condemn the revolutionary application and development of the line of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International by the Communist International itself and by the Tenth Plenum of its Ex-

Executive Committee and to proclaim Lovestone's reformist interpretation the only permissible one.

With the declaration that they will continue their fight against the Comintern the signers have registered their unwillingness and unfitness to remain members of our Party. Under lying protestations of adherence to the decisions of the Sixth World Congress they challenge the decisions of the second World Congress concerning the 21 conditions of membership in the Communist International.

In recognition of this undeniable fact and in application of the decisions of the Politbureau of August 12, the following are hereby declared expelled from the Party—D. Benjamin, B. Gitlow, W. Miller, M. Nemser, E. Welsh, W. White, B. D. Wolfe and Herbert Zam.

Any association with the expelled, any support given them is incompatible with the duties of membership in the Party.

POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF U. S. A.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 121

FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM

by JOSEPH STALIN

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INTRODUCTION

Some say that Leninism is the application of Marxism to the peculiar conditions of the situation in Russia. This definition contains a particle of truth, but not the whole truth by any means. Lenin, indeed, applied Marxism to Russian conditions, and applied it in a masterly way. But if Lenin-

ism were only the application of Marxism to the peculiar situation in Russia it would be a purely national and only national, a purely Russian and only Russian, phenomenon. We know, however, that Leninism is not merely a Russian, but an international phenomenon rooted in the whole of international development. That is why I think this definition suffers from onesidedness.

I. THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF LENINISM

The *third contradiction* is the contradiction between the handful of ruling "civilised" nations and the hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world. Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting vast colonies and dependent countries. The purpose of this exploitation and of this oppression is to squeeze out super-profits. But in exploiting these countries imperialism is compelled to build railroads, factories and mills there, to create industrial and commercial centres. The appearance of a class of proletarians, the emergence of a native intelligentsia, the awakening of national consciousness, the growth of the movement for emancipation—such are the inevitable results of this "policy." The growth of the revolutionary movement in all colonies and dependent countries without exception clearly testifies to this fact. This circumstance is of importance for the proletariat in that it radically undermines the position of capitalism by converting the colonies and dependent countries from reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletarian revolution.

Such, in general, are the principal contradictions of imperialism which have converted the old, "flourishing" capitalism into moribund capitalism.

The significance of the imperialist war which broke loose ten years ago lies, among other things, in the fact that it gathered all these contradictions into a single knot and

threw them onto the scales, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat.

In other words, imperialism has brought it about, not only that revolution has become a practical inevitability, but also that favourable conditions have been created for a direct onslaught upon the citadels of capitalism.

Such is the international situation which gave birth to Leninism.

Under these circumstances, could the Russian Communists confine their work within the narrow national bounds of the Russian revolution? Of course not. On the contrary, the whole situation, both domestic (the profound revolutionary crisis) and foreign (the war), impelled them to go beyond these bounds in their work, to transfer the struggle to the international arena, to expose the ulcers of imperialism, to prove that the collapse of capitalism was inevitable, to smash social-chauvinism and social-pacifism, and finally, to overthrow capitalism in their own country and to forge a new fighting weapon for the proletariat—the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution—in order to facilitate the task of overthrowing capitalism for the proletarians of all countries. Nor could the Russian Communists act otherwise, for only this path offered the chance of producing certain changes in the international situation which could safeguard Russia against the restoration of the bourgeois order.

That is why Russia became the home of Leninism, and why Lenin, the leader of the Russian Communists, became its creator.

We cannot regard it as a mere accident that as early as 1902, when the Russian revolution was still in an embryonic state, Lenin wrote the following prophetic words in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?*:

“History has now confronted us [i.e., the Russian Marxists—J.S.] with an immediate task which is the *most revo-*

lutionary of all the immediate tasks that confront the proletariat of any country. The fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but also of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 50.)

In other words, the centre of the revolutionary movement was bound to shift to Russia.

As we know, the course of the revolution in Russia has more than vindicated Lenin's prediction.

Is it surprising, after all this, that a country which has accomplished such a revolution and possesses such a proletariat should have been the birthplace of the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution?

Is it surprising that Lenin, the leader of this proletariat, became the creator of this theory and tactics and the leader of the international proletariat?

3. THE THEORY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country still does not mean that the complete victory of socialism has been ensured. After consolidating its power and taking the peasantry in tow, the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build up a socialist society. But does this mean that it will thereby achieve the complete and final victory of socialism, i.e., does it mean that with the forces of only one country it can finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against intervention and, consequently, also against restoration? No, it does not. For this the victory of the revolution in at least several countries is needed. Therefore, the development and support of revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious

* Quotation from English translations of Lenin have been checked with the original and in some cases revised.—Ed.

revolution. Therefore, the revolution in the victorious country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity but as an aid, as a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries.

Lenin expressed this thought in a nutshell when he said that the task of the victorious revolution is to do "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries." (*Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 182.)

These, in general, are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution.

IV. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The state is a machine in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. *In this respect* the dictatorship of the proletariat does not differ essentially from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian state is a machine for the suppression of the bourgeoisie. But there is one *substantial* difference. This difference consists in the fact that all hitherto existing class states have been dictatorships of an exploiting minority over the exploited majority, whereas the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the exploited majority over the exploiting minority.

Briefly: *the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule—unrestricted by law and based on force—of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a rule enjoying the sympathy and support of the labouring and exploited masses. (The State and Revolution.)*

From this follow two main conclusions:

First conclusion: The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be "complete" democracy, democracy for *all*, for the rich as well as for the poor; the dictatorship of the proletariat "must be a state that is democratic in a new way—

for * the proletarians and the propertyless in general—and dictatorial in a new way—against * the bourgeoisie. . . .”
(Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 34.)

Democracy under capitalism is *capitalist* democracy, the democracy of the exploiting minority, based on the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat are real “liberties” for the exploited and real participation in the administration of the country by the proletarians and peasants possible. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is *proletarian* democracy, the democracy of the exploited majority, based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority.

Second conclusion: The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot arise as the result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and bourgeois democracy; it can arise only as the result of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois bureaucratic machine, the bourgeois police.

In a preface to *The Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels wrote, quoting from *The Civil War in France*:

“The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machine and wield it for its own purposes.”
(Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 190.)

In a letter to Kugelmann (1871) Marx wrote that the task of the proletarian revolution is

“no longer as before, to transfer the bureaucratic military machine from one hand to another, but to *smash* it, and that is a preliminary condition for every real people’s revolution on the Continent.” (Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 528.)

Marx’s qualifying phrase about the Continent gave the opportunists and Mensheviks of all countries a pretext for

* My italics.—J.S.

proclaiming that Marx had thus conceded the possibility of the peaceful evolution of bourgeois democracy into a proletarian democracy, at least in certain countries outside the European continent (England, America). Marx did in fact concede that possibility, and he had good grounds for conceding it in regard to England and America in the seventies of the last century, when monopoly capitalism and imperialism did not yet exist, and when these countries, owing to the special conditions of their development, had as yet no developed militarism and bureaucracy. That was the situation before the appearance of developed imperialism. But later, after a lapse of thirty or forty years, when the situation in these countries had radically changed, when imperialism had developed and had embraced all capitalist countries without exception, when militarism and bureaucracy had appeared in England and America also, when the special conditions for peaceful development in England and the United States had disappeared—then the qualification in regard to these countries necessarily could no longer hold good.

"Today," said Lenin, "in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid: Both England and America, the greatest and the last representatives—in the whole world—of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty,' in the sense that militarism and bureaucracy were absent, have slid down entirely into the all-European, filthy, bloody morass, of military-bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything underfoot. Today, both in England and in America, the 'preliminary condition for every real people's revolution' is the smashing, the *destruction* of the 'ready-made state machine' (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)." (*Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 37.)

In other words, the law of violent proletarian revolution, the law of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine as a preliminary condition for such a revolution, is an inevitable

law of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries of the world.

Of course, in the remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the most important capitalist countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by a socialist encirclement, a "peaceful" path of development is quite possible for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists, in view of the "unfavourable" international situation, will consider it expedient "voluntarily" to make substantial concessions to the proletariat. But this supposition applies only to a remote and possible future. With regard to the immediate future, there is no ground whatsoever for this supposition.

Therefore, Lenin is right in saying:

"The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one. . . ." (*Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 124.)

VI. THE NATIONAL PROBLEM

Formerly, the national problem was usually confined to a narrow circle of questions, concerning, primarily, "cultured" nationalities. The Irish, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Finns, the Serbs and several other European nationalities—that was the circle of disfranchised peoples in whose destinies the heroes of the Second International were interested. The scores and hundreds of millions of Asiatic and African peoples who are suffering national oppression in its most savage and cruel form usually remained outside of their field of vision. They hesitated to put white and black, "civilized" and "uncivilized" on the same plane. Two or three meaningless, lukewarm resolutions, which carefully evaded the question of liberating the colonies—that was all the leaders of the Second International could boast of. Now we can say that this duplicity and half-

heartedness in dealing with the national problem has been brought to an end. Leninism laid bare this crying incongruity, broke down the wall between whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the "civilized" and "uncivilized" slaves of imperialism, and thus linked the national problem with the problem of the colonies. The national problem was thereby transformed from a particular and internal state problem into a general and international problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from the yoke of imperialism.

The question presents itself as follows: Are the revolutionary possibilities latent in the revolutionary liberation movement of the oppressed countries *already exhausted* or not; and if not, is there any hope, any ground to expect that these possibilities can be utilized for the proletarian revolution, that the dependent and colonial countries can be transformed from a reserve of the imperialist bourgeoisie into a reserve of the revolutionary proletariat, into an ally of the latter?

Leninism replies to this question in the affirmative, i.e., it recognizes the latent revolutionary capacities of the national liberation movement of the oppressed countries and the possibility of utilizing these capacities for the purpose of overthrowing the common enemy, for the purpose of overthrowing imperialism. The mechanics of the development of imperialism, the imperialist war and the revolution in Russia wholly confirm the conclusions of Leninism on this score.

Hence the necessity for the proletariat to support—resolutely and actively to support—the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples.

This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat must support *every* national movement, everywhere and always, in every single concrete case. It means that support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve

it. Cases occur when the national movements in certain oppressed countries come into conflict with the interests of the development of the proletarian movement. In such cases support is, of course, entirely out of the question. The question of the rights of nations is not an isolated, self-sufficient question; it is a part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, subordinate to the whole, and must be considered from the point of view of the whole. In the forties of the last century Marx supported the national movement of the Poles and Hungarians and was opposed to the national movement of the Czechs and the South Slavs. Why? Because the Czechs and the South Slavs were then "reactionary nations," "Russian outposts" in Europe, outposts of absolutism: whereas the Poles and the Hungarians were "revolutionary nations," fighting against absolutism. Because support of the national movement of the Czechs and the South Slavs was at that time equivalent to indirect support for tsarism, the most dangerous enemy of the revolutionary movement in Europe.

"The various demands of democracy," writes Lenin, "including self-determination, are not an absolute, but a *small part* of the general democratic (now: general socialist) *world* movement. In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected." (*Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. XIX, pp. 257-58).*

This is the position in regard to the question of certain national movements, of the possible reactionary character of these movements—if, of course, they are appraised not from the formal point of view, not from the point of view of abstract rights, but concretely, from the point of view of the interests of the revolutionary movement.

VII. STRATEGY AND TACTICS

The period of the domination of the Second International was mainly a period of the formation and training of the

* Cf. Lenin, *Marx-Engels-Marxism* (N.Y., 1935), p. 147.—Ed.

proletarian armies amidst conditions of more or less peaceful development. This was the period when parliamentarism was the principal form of class struggle. Questions of great class conflicts, of preparing the proletariat for revolutionary battles, of the ways and means of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, did not seem to be on the order of the day at that time. The task was confined to utilizing all paths of legal development for the purpose of forming and training the proletarian armies, to utilizing parliamentarism in conformity with the conditions under which the status of the proletariat was (and as it seemed then, had to remain) that of an Opposition. It need hardly be proved that in such a period and with such a conception of the tasks of the proletariat there could be neither an integral strategy nor any elaborated tactics. There were fragmentary and detached ideas about tactics and strategy, but no tactics or strategy as such.

The mortal sin of the Second International was not that it pursued the tactics of utilizing the parliamentary forms of struggle, but that it overestimated the importance of these forms, that it considered them virtually the only forms; and that when the period of open revolutionary battles set in and the question of extra-parliamentary forms of struggle came to the fore the parties of the Second International turned their backs on these new tasks, refused to shoulder them.

Only in the subsequent period, in the period of direct action by the proletariat, in the period of proletarian revolution, when the question of overthrowing the bourgeoisie became a question of immediate action; when the question of the reserves of the proletariat (strategy) became one of the most burning questions; when all forms of struggle and of organization, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary (tactics) had fully manifested themselves and became well-defined—only in this period could an integral strategy and elaborated tactics for the struggle of the proletariat be drawn up. It was precisely in that period that Lenin brought out into

light of day the brilliant ideas of Marx and Engels on tactics and strategy that had been immured by the opportunists of the Second International. But Lenin did not confine himself to restoring certain tactical propositions of Marx and Engels. He developed them further and supplemented them with new ideas and propositions, combining them all into a system of rules and guiding principles for the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat. Lenin's pamphlets, such as *What Is To Be Done?*; *Two Tactics*; *Imperialism*; *State and Revolution*; *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*; "*Left-Wing*" *Communism*, etc., will undoubtedly always be treasured as priceless contributions to the general store of Marxism, to its revolutionary arsenal. The strategy and tactics of Leninism constitute the science of leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

2. STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION, AND STRATEGY

Our revolution already passed through two stages, and after the October Revolution it has entered a third stage. Our strategy changed accordingly.

Third stage. Commenced after the October Revolution. Objective: to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries. The revolution is spreading beyond the confines of one country; the period of world revolution has commenced. The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves: the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-bourgeois democrats, isolation of the parties of the Second International, which constitute the main support of the policy of compromise with imperial-

ism. Plan for the disposition of forces: alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement in the colonies and the dependent countries.

3. THE FLOW AND EBB OF THE MOVEMENT, AND TACTICS

Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat in the comparatively short period of the flow or ebb of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution, the fight to carry out this line by means of replacing old forms of struggle and organization by new ones, old slogans by new ones, by combining these forms, etc. While the object of strategy is to win the war against tsarism, let us say, or against the bourgeoisie, to carry the struggle against tsarism or against the bourgeoisie to its end, tactics concern themselves with less important objects, for they aim not at winning the war as a whole, but at winning a particular engagement, or a particular battle, at carrying through successfully a particular campaign or a particular action corresponding to the concrete circumstances in the given period of rise or decline of the revolution. Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate to it and serving it.

6. REFORMISM AND REVOLUTIONISM

What is the difference between revolutionary tactics and reformist tactics?

Some think that Leninism is opposed to reforms, opposed to compromises and to agreements in general. This is absolutely wrong. Bolsheviks know as well as anybody else that in a certain sense "every little helps," that under certain conditions reforms in general, and compromises and agreements in particular, are necessary and useful.

"To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie," says Lenin, "a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilize the conflict of interests

(even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporise and compromise with possible (even though transient, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies—is not this ridiculous in the extreme? Is it not the same as if in the difficult ascent of an unexplored and heretofore inaccessible mountain we were to renounce beforehand the idea that at times we might have to go in zigzags, sometimes retracing our steps, sometimes giving up the course once selected and trying various others?" (*Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 111.)

Obviously, therefore, it is not a matter of reforms or of compromises and agreements, but of the use people make of reforms and compromises.

To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the bourgeois regime, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening that regime, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution.

To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are by-products of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the bourgeois regime, reforms are naturally transformed into instruments for disintegrating this regime, into instruments for strengthening the revolution, into a base for further development of the revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This is what making revolutionary use of reforms and agreements under the conditions of imperialism means.

The reformist, on the contrary, will accept reforms in order to renounce all illegal work, to thwart the preparation of the masses for the revolution and to rest in the shade of "bestowed" reforms.

This is what reformist tactics means.

This is the position in regard to reforms and agreements under imperialism.

VIII. THE PARTY

But the Party is not merely the *sum* of Party organizations. The Party at the same time represents a single *system* of these organizations, their formal amalgamation into a single whole, with higher and lower leading bodies, with subordination of the minority to the majority, with practical decisions binding on all members of the Party. Without these conditions the Party cannot be a single organized whole capable of exercising systematic and organized leadership in the struggle of the working class.

"Formerly," says Lenin, "our Party was not a formally organized whole, but only the sum of separate groups, and therefore no other relations except those of ideological influence were possible between these groups. Now we have become an organized Party, and this implies the establishment of authority, the transformation of the power of ideas into the power of authority, the subordination of lower Party bodies to higher Party bodies." (*Ibid.*, p. 291.)

The principle of the minority submitting to the majority, the principle of directing Party work from a centre, not infrequently gives rise to attacks on the part of wavering elements, to accusations of "bureaucracy," "formalism," etc. It need hardly be proved that systematic work by the Party, as one whole, and the directing of the struggle of the working class would have been impossible if these principles had not been adhered to. Leninism in the organizational question means unswerving application of these principles. Lenin terms the fight against these principles "Russian nihilism" and "aristocratic anarchism," deserving only of being ridiculed and swept aside.

The achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and iron discipline. But iron discipline in the Party is inconceivable without unity of will, without complete and absolute unity of action on the part of all members of the Party. This does not mean, of course, that the possibility of contests of opinion within the Party is thereby precluded. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and contest of opinion within the Party. Least of all does it mean that discipline must be "blind." On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes conscious and voluntary submission, for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline. But after a contest of opinion has been closed, after criticism has been exhausted and a decision has been arrived at, unity of will and unity of action of all Party members are the necessary condition without which neither Party unity nor iron discipline in the Party is conceivable.

"In the present epoch of acute civil war," says Lenin, "a Communist Party will be able to perform its duty only if it is organised in the most centralised manner, only if iron discipline bordering on military discipline prevails in it, and if its Party centre is a powerful and authoritative organ, wielding wide powers and enjoying the universal confidence of the members of the Party." (*Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 204.)

This is the position in regard to discipline in the Party in the period of struggle preceding the achievement of the dictatorship.

The same, but to an even greater degree, must be said about discipline in the Party after the dictatorship has been achieved.

"Whoever in the least," says Lenin, "weakens the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship) actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." (*Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 84.)

But from this it follows that the existence of factions is incompatible either with the Party's unity or with its iron discipline. It need hardly be proved that the existence of factions leads to the existence of a number of centres and the existence of a number of centres connotes the absence of one common centre in the Party, the breaking up of the unity of will, the weakening and disintegration of discipline, the weakening and disintegration of the dictatorship. Of course, the parties of the Second International, which are fighting against the dictatorship of the proletariat and have no desire to lead the proletarians to power, can afford such liberalism as freedom of factions, for they have no need at all for iron discipline. But the parties of the Communist International, which base their activities on the task of achieving and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot afford to be "liberal" or to permit freedom of factions. The Party represents unity of will, which precludes all factionalism and division of authority in the Party.

Hence Lenin's warning about the "danger of factionalism from the point of view of Party unity and of effecting the unity of will of the vanguard of the proletariat as the fundamental condition for the success of the dictatorship of the proletariat," which is embodied in the special resolution of the Tenth Congress of our Party "On Party Unity." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 132.)

Hence Lenin's demand for the "complete elimination of all factionalism" and the "immediate dissolution of all groups, without exception, that had been formed on the basis of various platforms," on pain of "unconditional and immediate expulsion from the Party." (*Ibid.*, pp. 133-34.)

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 123

The Communist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA
SECTION OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
MARCH, 1921

REPORT OF THE THIRD CONVENTION

Thirty delegates and seven fraternal delegates met somewhere in the U. S. A., and for ten days thrashed out the problems of tactics and organization of the Communist Party, made history, and passed another milestone of the Communist movement in America. The arrangements for the holding of this convention, made by our technical committee, the silent and secret gathering together of the comrades from all parts of the country, and their safe return to their homes, is in itself a story which some day will be told when the annals of the proletariat revolution in America are compiled.

After waiting in vain for the U. C. P. to comply with the mandate of the Communist International to hold a joint convention upon the basis of proportional representation with the Communist Party, in order to effect unity between these two parties, the convention was called by the C. E. C. in compliance with the twenty-one points for affiliation to the Communist International, and to revise its program and constitution, in conformity with the Theses and Statutes of the C.I.

RESOLUTION ON UNITY WITH THE U. C. P.

The Communist Party of America, in convention assembled, unanimously declares:

That we endorse and confirm the position taken by the former C. E. C. of the Communist Party against holding of a unity convention with the united Communist Party upon the arbitrary basis of equal representation.

We maintain that real and organic unity between the Communist Party of America and the united Communist Party

can be reached only upon the basis of proportional representation.

We instruct our central executive committee to maintain this position, which is included in the mandate of the executive committee of the Communist International, unless the Communist International sends other instructions.

Another amendment was made to insert the words "for the final destruction of the bourgeois state" and this was accepted by the chairman, and around this motion the question was thrashed out in heated debate. Many new formulations were offered until finally a new committee was elected to reformulate the entire clause. This concluded that day's session, and the next morning the clause was adopted as follows:—"The Communist Party will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the idea of the inevitability of, the necessity for a violent revolution and will prepare the working class for armed insurrection as the only means for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based upon soviet power." This clause was unanimously adopted by roll call vote by all present.

The various resolutions adopted by the convention (with the exception of those which are not printed for conspiratorial reasons) will be found on another page in this issue.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY C. P. CONVENTION, FEB., 1921

Resolution on Acceptance of the 21 Points for Affiliation with C. I.

The Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International, assembled in its Special Convention held in February, 1921, hereby reaffirms its position as an integral part of the Communist International.

The Special Convention, in conformity with the conditions for admission adopted by the Second World Congress of the

Communist International, and after discussion and due deliberation, endorses and adopts unanimously, on roll call vote, the 21 Points for Affiliation with the Communist International, as binding upon all the delegates present, and for its entire membership, without any reservations.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 125

PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL

TOGETHER WITH THE STATUTES OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC.
39 EAST 125TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

INTRODUCTION

Basing itself on the experience of the revolutionary labor movement on all continents and of all peoples, the Communist International, in its theoretical and practical work, stands wholly and unreservedly upon the ground of *revolutionary Marxism* and its further development, *Leninism*, which is nothing else but Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Advocating and propagating the *dialectical materialism* of Marx and Engels and employing it as a revolutionary method of conceiving reality, with the view to the revolutionary transformation of this reality, the Communist International wages an active struggle against all forms of bourgeois philosophy and against all forms of theoretical and practical opportunism. Standing on the ground of consistent proletarian class struggle and subordinating the temporary, partial group and national interests of the proletariat to its lasting, general, international interests, the Communist International mercilessly exposes all forms of

the doctrine of "*class peace*" that the reformists have accepted from the bourgeoisie. Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletarians—the grave-diggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its programme the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism, and that openly comes out as the *organizer of the international proletarian revolution*.

II. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE FIRST PHASE OF WORLD REVOLUTION

As a result of the first round of imperialist wars (the world war of 1914-1918) and of the October victory of the working class in the former Russian Tsarist Empire, world economy has been split into two fundamentally hostile camps: the camp of the imperialist States and the camp of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. The difference in class structure and in the class character of the government in the two camps, the fundamental differences in the aims each pursues in internal, foreign, economic and cultural policy, the fundamentally different courses of their development, brings the capitalist world into sharp conflict with the victorious proletarian State. Within the framework of a formerly uniform world economy, two antagonistic systems are now contesting against each other: the system of capitalism and the system of socialism. The class struggle, which hitherto was conducted in circumstances when the proletariat was not in possession of State power, is now being conducted on an enormous and really world scale; the working class of the world has now its own State—the one and only fatherland of the international proletariat. The existence of the Soviet Union and the influence it exercises upon the toiling and oppressed masses all over the world is in itself a most striking expression of the profound crisis of the world capitalist system and of the expansion and in-

tensification of the class struggle to a degree hitherto without parallel in history.

The capitalist world, powerless to eliminate its inherent contradictions, strives to establish international associations (the League of Nations) the main purpose of which is to retard the irresistible growth of the revolutionary crisis and to strangle the Soviet Proletarian Republics by war or blockade. At the same time, all the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and of the oppressed colonial masses are rallying around the U.S.S.R. The world coalition of *Capital*, unstable, internally corroded, but armed to the teeth, is confronted by a single world coalition of *Labor*. Thus, as a result of the first round of imperialist wars a new, fundamental antagonism has arisen of world historical scope and significance; the antagonism between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world.

Finally, the revolutionary crisis is inexorably maturing in the very centres of imperialism: the capitalist offensive against the working class, the attack upon the workers' standard of living, upon their organizations and their political rights, and the growth of white terror, rouse increasing resistance on the part of the broad masses of the proletariat and intensify the class struggle between the working class and trustified capital. The great battles fought between Labor and Capital, the accelerated swing to the left of the masses, the growth in the influence and authority of the Communist Parties; the enormous growth of sympathy of the broad masses of workers for the land of the proletarian dictatorship—all this is a clear symptom of the rise of a new revolutionary tide in the centres of imperialism.

Thus, the system of world imperialism, and with it the partial stabilization of capitalism, is being corroded from various causes: First, the antagonisms and conflicts between the imperialist States; second, the rising for the struggle of vast masses in the colonial countries; third, the action of the revolutionary proletariat in the imperialist home coun-

tries; and lastly, the hegemony exercised over the whole world revolutionary movement by the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. The international revolution is developing.

Against this revolution, imperialism is gathering its forces. Expeditions against the colonies, a new world war, a campaign against the U.S.S.R. are matters which now figure prominently in the politics of imperialism. This must lead to the release of all the forces of international revolution and to the inevitable doom of capitalism.

III. THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL —WORLD COMMUNISM

The ultimate aim of the Communist International, to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race.

Communist society will abolish the class division of society, i.e., simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy in production, it will abolish all forces of exploitation and oppression of man by man. Society will no longer consist of antagonistic classes in conflict with each other, but will represent a united commonwealth of labor. For the first time in its history mankind will take its fate into its own hands: Instead of destroying innumerable human lives and incalculable wealth in struggles between classes and nations, mankind will devote all its energy to the struggle against the forces of nature, to the development and strengthening of its own collective might.

After abolishing private ownership in the means of production and converting them into social property, the world system of Communism will replace the elemental forces of the world market, of competition and the blind process of social production, by consciously organized and planned pro-

duction for the purpose of satisfying rapidly growing social needs. With the abolition of competition and anarchy in production, devastating crises and still more devastating wars will disappear. Instead of colossal waste of productive forces and spasmodic development of society—there will be planned utilization of all material resources and painless economic development on the basis of unrestricted, smooth and rapid development of productive forces.

The abolition of private property and the disappearance of classes will do away with the exploitation of man by man. Work will cease to be toiling for the benefit of a class enemy: instead of being merely a means of livelihood it will become a necessity of life: want and economic inequality, the misery of enslaved classes, and a wretched standard of life generally will disappear; the hierarchy created in the division of labor system will be abolished together with the antagonism between mental and manual labor; and the last vestige of the social inequality of sexes will be removed. At the same time, the organs of class domination, and the State in the first place, will disappear also. The State, being the embodiment of class domination, will die out in so far as classes die out, and with it all measures of coercion will expire.

IV. THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

I. The Transition Period and the Conquest of Power by the Proletariat

Between capitalist society and Communist society a period of revolutionary transformation intervenes, during which the one changes into the other. Correspondingly, there is also an intervening period of political transition, in which the essential State form is the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous

general crisis in capitalist relationships and growth of social revolutions, i.e., of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, insofar as they undermine the domination of imperialism, constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and social economic and social systems exist side by side in "peaceful" relationships as well as in armed conflict; a period of formation of a Union of Soviet Republics; a period of wars of imperialist States against Soviet States; a period in which the ties between the Soviet States and colonial peoples become more and more closely established, etc.

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. This unevenness is still more pronounced and acute in the epoch of imperialism. Hence, it follows that the international proletarian revolution cannot be conceived as a single event occurring simultaneously all over the world; at first socialism may be victorious in a few, or even in one single capitalist country. Every such proletarian victory, however, broadens the basis of the world revolution and consequently, still further intensifies the general crisis of capitalism. Thus, the capitalist system as a whole reaches the point of its final collapse; the dictatorship of finance capital perishes and gives place to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois revolutions brought about the political liberation of a system of productive relationships that had already established itself and become economically dominant, and transferred political power from the hands of one class of exploiters to the hands of another. Proletarian revolution, however, signifies the forcible invasion of the proletariat into the domain of property relationships of bourgeois society, the expropriation of the expropriating classes, and the transference of power to a class that aims at the radical reconstruction of the economic foundations of society and

the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. The political domination of the feudal barons all over the world was broken in a series of separate bourgeois revolutions that extended over a period of centuries. The international proletarian revolution, however, although it will not be a single simultaneous act, but one extending over a whole epoch, nevertheless—thanks to the closer ties that now exist between the countries of the world, will accomplish its mission in a much shorter period of time. Only after the proletariat has achieved victory and consolidated its power all over the world will a prolonged period of intensive construction of world socialist economy set in.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is a necessary condition precedent to the growth of socialist forms of economy and to the cultural growth of the proletariat, which changes its own nature, perfects itself for the leadership of society in all spheres of life, draws into this process of transformation all other classes and thus prepares the ground for the abolition of classes altogether.

In the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and later for the transformation of the social system, as against the alliance of capitalists and landlords an alliance of workers and peasants is formed, under the intellectual and political hegemony of the former, an alliance which serves as the basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The characteristic feature of the transition period as a whole, is the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the organization of Socialist Construction, the mass training of men and women in the spirit of Socialism and the gradual disappearance of classes. Only to the extent that these great historical tasks are fulfilled will society of the transition period become transformed into Communist society.

Thus, the dictatorship of the world proletariat is an essential and vital condition precedent to the transition of world capitalist economy to socialist economy. This world dictatorship can be established only when the victory of socialism

has been achieved in certain countries or groups of countries, when the newly established proletarian republics enter into a federal union with the already existing proletarian republics, when the number of such federations has grown and extended also to the colonies which have emancipated themselves from the yoke of imperialism; when these federations of republics have finally grown into a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics uniting the whole of mankind under the hegemony of the international proletariat organized as a State.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois State machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence, the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist State apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.), and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters.

V. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL REVOLUTION

3. THE DUTIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT TO THE U. S. S. R.

In view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its interna-

tional emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and defend her against the attacks of the capitalist powers by all the means in its power.

"The world political situation has made the dictatorship of the proletariat an immediate issue, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, namely, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which must inevitably group around itself the Soviet movements of the advanced workers of all countries on the one hand, and all the national liberation movements of the colonial and oppressed nationalities on the other." (Lenin).

In the event of the imperialist States declaring war upon and attacking the U.S.S.R., the international proletariat must retaliate by organizing bold and determined mass action and struggling for the overthrow of the imperialist governments with the slogan of: Dictatorship of the proletariat and alliance with the U.S.S.R.

In the colonies, and particularly the colonies of the imperialist country attacking the U.S.S.R., every effort must be made to take advantage of the diversion of the imperialist military forces to develop an anti-imperialist struggle and to organize revolutionary action for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and of winning complete independence.

The development of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the growth of its international influence not only rouse the hatred of the capitalist States and their Social-Democratic agents against her, but also inspire the toilers all over the world with sympathy towards her and stimulate the readiness of the oppressed classes of all countries to fight with all the means in their power for the land of the proletarian dictatorship, in the event of an imperialist attack upon her.

Thus, the development of the contradictions within modern world economy, the development of the general capitalist crisis, and the imperialist military attack upon the

Soviet Union inevitably lead to a mighty revolutionary outbreak which must overwhelm capitalism in a number of the so-called civilized countries, unleash the victorious revolution in the colonies, broaden the base of the proletarian dictatorship to an enormous degree and thus, with tremendous strides, bring nearer the final world victory of Socialism.

VI. THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

2. THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS

The successful struggle of the Communist International for the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact Communist Party, hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized, and closely linked up with the masses.

The Party is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active, and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out thanks to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain inseparable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves.

In order that it may fulfill its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself and accomplish the following fundamental *strategic* aims:

Extend its influence over the *majority of the members of its own class*, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this the Communist Party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations (Soviets, trade unions, factory councils, co-operative societies, sport organizations, cultural organizations, etc.). It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to capture the *trade unions*, which are genuine mass working class organizations closely bound up with the every-day struggles of the working class. To work in reactionary trade unions and skillfully to capture them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organized workers, to change and "remove from their posts" the reformist leaders, represent important tasks in the preparatory period.

The achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes also that the proletariat acquires hegemony over *wide sections of the toiling masses*. To accomplish this the Communist Party must extend its influence over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the intelligentsia and over the so-called "small man," i. e. the petty-bourgeois strata generally. It is particularly important that work be carried on for the purpose of extending the Party's influence over the *peasantry*. The Communist Party must secure for itself the whole-hearted support of that stratum of the rural population that stands closest to the proletariat, i. e. the agricultural laborers and the rural poor. To this end, the agricultural laborers must be organized in separate organizations; all possible support must be given them in their struggles against the rural bourgeoisie, and strenuous work must be carried on among the small allotment farmers and small peasants. In regard to the middle strata of the peasantry in developed capitalist countries, the Communist Parties must conduct a policy to secure their neutrality. The fulfillment of all these tasks by the proletariat,—the champion of the interests of the whole people and the leader of the broad masses in their struggle

against the oppression of finance capital,—is an essential condition precedent for the victorious Communist revolution.

The tasks of the Communist International connected with the revolutionary struggle in *colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies* are extremely important strategical tasks in the world proletarian struggle. The colonial struggle presupposes that the broad masses of the working class and of the peasantry in the colonies be rallied round the banner of the revolution; but this cannot be achieved unless the closest co-operation is maintained between the proletariat in the oppressing countries and the toiling masses in the oppressed countries.

While organizing, under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship, the revolution against imperialism in the so-called civilized States, the Communist International supports every movement against imperialist violence in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies themselves (for example Latin-America); it carries on propaganda against all forms of chauvinism and against the imperialist maltreatment of enslaved peoples and races, big and small (treatment of Negroes, "yellow labor", anti-semitism, etc.), and supports their struggles against the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations. The Communist International especially combats the chauvinism that is preached in the Empire-owning countries by the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as by its Social-Democratic agency, the Second International, and constantly holds up in contrast to the practices of the imperialist bourgeoisie the practice of the Soviet Union, which has established relations of fraternity and equality among the nationalities inhabiting it.

The Communist Parties in the *imperialist countries* must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary liberation movement and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally. The duty of rendering active support to these movements rests primarily upon the workers in the countries upon which the oppressed nations are economic-

ally, financially or politically dependent. The Communist Parties must openly recognize the right of the colonies to separation and their right to carry on propaganda for this separation, i.e. propaganda in favor of the independence of the colonies from the imperialist State; they must recognize their right of armed defence against imperialism (i. e. the right of rebellion and revolutionary war) and advocate and give active support to this defence by all the means in their power. The Communist Parties must adopt this line of policy in regard to all oppressed nations.

The Communist Parties in the *colonial and semi-colonial countries* must carry on a bold and consistent struggle against foreign imperialism and unfailingly conduct propaganda in favor of friendship and unity with the proletariat in the imperialist countries. They must openly advance, conduct propaganda for and carry out the slogan of agrarian revolution, rouse the broad masses of the peasantry for the overthrow of the landlords and combat the reactionary and mediaeval influence of the clergy, of the missionaries and other, similar elements.

In these countries, the principal task is to organize the workers and the peasantry *independently* (to establish class Communist Parties of the proletariat, trade unions, peasant leagues and committees and, in a revolutionary situation, Soviet, etc.) and to free them from the influence of the national bourgeoisie, with whom temporary agreements may be made only on the condition that they, the bourgeoisie, do not hamper the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants, and that they carry on a genuine struggle against imperialism.

In determining its line of *tactics*, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken up by the various intermediary strata in its country, etc. The Party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accord-

ance with these circumstances, with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle.

When a revolutionary situation is developing, the Party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggles of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilize these minor every-day needs as a *starting point* from which to lead the working class to the *revolutionary struggle for power*.

When the revolutionary tide is rising, when the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat and the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois State. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.) and by organizing *mass action*, upon which all branches of Party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of war; it presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting operations and unbounded devotion and heroism on the part of the proletariat. An absolutely essential condition precedent for this form of action is the organization of

the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form, embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (Council of Workers' Deputies, Soldiers' Councils, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy.

In passing over to new and more radical slogans, the Parties must be guided by the fundamental role of the political tactics of Leninism, which call for ability to lead the masses to revolutionary positions in such a manner that the masses may, by their own experience, convince themselves of the correctness of the Party line. Failure to observe this rule must inevitably lead to isolation from the masses, to putschism, to the ideological degeneration of Communism into "Leftist" dogmatism and to petty-bourgeois "revolutionary" adventurism. Failure to take advantage of the culminating point in the development of the revolutionary situation, when the Party of the proletariat is called upon to conduct a bold and determined attack upon the enemy, is not less dangerous. To allow that opportunity to slip by and to fail to start rebellion at that point, means to allow the initiative to pass to the enemy and to doom the revolution to defeat.

When the *revolutionary tide is not rising*, the Communist Parties must advance *partial* slogans and demands that correspond to the everyday needs of the toilers, and combine them with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. The Communist Parties must not, however, at such a time, advance *transitional* slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations (for example workers' control of industry, etc.). To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans that favor merging with the capitalist system of organization. Partial demands and slogans generally form an essential part of correct tactics; but certain transitional slogans go inseparably with a revolutionary situation. Repudiation of partial demands and transitional slogans "on principle", however, is incompatible with the tactical prin-

ciples of Communism, for in effect, such repudiation condemns the Party to inaction and isolates it from the masses. *United front tactics* also occupy an important place in the tactics of the Communist Parties throughout *the whole pre-revolutionary period* as a means towards achieving success in the struggle against capital, towards the class mobilization of the masses and the exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders.

The correct application of united front tactics and the fulfillment of the general task of winning over the masses presuppose in their turn systematic and persistent work in the *trade unions* and other mass proletarian organizations. It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organization. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade unions and in the factories for the steadfast and energetic defence of the interests of the workers, together with ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and to win the industrially organized workers over to the side of the Party.

Unlike the reformists, whose policy is to split the trade unions, the Communists defend *trade union unity* nationally and internationally on the basis of the class struggle, and render every support to and strengthen the work of the *Red International of Labor Unions*.

In universally championing the current everyday needs of the masses of the workers and of the toilers generally, in utilizing the bourgeois parliament as a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda, and subordinating the partial tasks to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Parties of the Communist International advance partial demands and slogans in the following main spheres:

In the sphere of *Labor*, in the narrow meaning of the term, i. e. question concerned with the *industrial struggle* (the fight against the trustified capitalist offensive, wage questions, the working day, compulsory arbitration, unemploy-

ment), which *grow* into questions, of the general political struggle (big industrial conflicts, fight for the right to organize, right to strike, etc.); in the sphere of *politics* proper (taxation, high cost of living, Fascism, persecution of revolutionary parties, white terror and current politics generally); and finally the sphere of *world* politics; viz., attitude towards the U. S. S. R. and colonial revolutions, struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement, struggle against imperialism and the war danger, and systematic preparation for the fight against *imperialist war*.

In the sphere of the *peasant* problem, the partial demands are those appertaining to taxation, peasant mortgage indebtedness, struggle against usurer's capital, the land hunger of the peasant small holders, rent, the metayer (crop-sharing) system. Starting out from these partial needs, the Communist Party must sharpen the respective slogans and broaden them out into the slogans: confiscation of large estates, and workers' and peasants' government (the synonym for proletarian dictatorship in developed capitalist countries and for democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in backward countries and in certain colonies).

Systematic work must also be carried on among the proletarian and peasant *youth* (mainly through the Young Communist International and its Sections) and also among *working women and peasant women*. This work must concern itself with the special conditions of life and struggle of the working and peasant women, and their demands must be linked up with the general demands and fighting slogans of the proletariat.

In the struggle against *colonial oppression*, the Communist Parties in the colonies must advance partial demands that correspond to the special circumstances prevailing in each country such as: complete equality for all nations and races; abolition of all privileges for foreigners; the right of association for workers and peasants; reduction of the working day; prohibition of child labor; prohibition of usury

and of all transactions entailing bondage; reduction and abolition of rent; reduction of taxation; refusal to pay taxes, etc. All these partial slogans must be subordinate to the fundamental demands of the Communist Parties such as: complete political national independence and the expulsion of the imperialists; workers' and peasants' government, the land to the whole people, eight-hour day, etc. The Communist Parties in *imperialist countries*, while supporting the struggle proceeding in the colonies, must carry on a campaign in their own respective countries for the withdrawal of imperialist troops, conduct propaganda in the army and navy in defence of the oppressed countries fighting for their liberation, mobilize the masses to refuse to transport troops and munitions and, in connection with this, to organize strikes and other forms of mass protest, etc.

The Communist International must devote itself especially to systematic preparation for the struggle against the *danger of imperialist wars*. Ruthless exposure of social chauvinism, of social imperialism and of pacifist phrasemongering intended to camouflage the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie; propaganda in favor of the principal slogans of the Communist International; everyday organizational work in connection with this, in the course of which work legal methods must unfailingly be combined with illegal methods; organized work in the army and navy—such must be the activity of the Communist Parties in this connection. The fundamental slogans of the Communist International in this connection must be the following: Convert imperialist war into civil war; defeat the “home” imperialist government; defend the U. S. S. R. and the colonies by every possible means in the event of imperialist war against them. It is the bounden duty of all Sections of the Communist International, and of every one of its members, to carry on propaganda for these slogans, to expose the “socialistic” sophisms and the “socialist” camouflage of the League of Nations and constantly to keep to the front the experiences of the war of 1914—1918.

In order that revolutionary work and revolutionary action may be coordinated and in order that these activities may be guided most successfully, the international proletariat must be bound by *international class discipline*, for which, first of all, it is most important to have the strictest international discipline in the Communist ranks.

This international Communist discipline must find expression in the subordination of the partial and local interests of the movement to its general and lasting interests and in the strict fulfillment, by all members, of the decisions passed by the leading bodies of the Communist International.

Unlike the Social-Democratic, Second International, each section of which submits to the discipline of "its own", national bourgeoisie and of its own "fatherland," the sections of the Communist International submit to only one discipline, viz., international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of the world's workers for world proletarian dictatorship. Unlike the Second International, which splits the trade unions, fights against colonial peoples, and practices unity with the bourgeoisie, the Communist International is an organization that guards proletarian unity in all countries and the unity of the toilers of all races and all peoples in their struggle against the yoke of imperialism.

Despite the bloody terror of the bourgeoisie, the Communists fight with courage and devotion on all sectors of the international class front, in the firm conviction that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable and cannot be averted.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Workers of all countries, unite!"

CONSTITUTION AND RULES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

I. NAME AND OBJECTS

1. The Communist International—the International Workers' Association—is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is a World Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the upholder of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of the World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of Communist society.

2. Each of the various Parties affiliated to the Communist International is called the Communist Party of [name of country] (Section of the Communist International). In any given country there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and representing its Section in that country.

3. Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the programme and rules of the given Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of a Party, actively work at it, abide by all the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay Party dues.

4. The basic unit of the Communist Party organization is the nucleus in the place of employment, (factory, workshop, mine, office, store, farm, etc.) which unites all the Party members employed in the given enterprise.

5. The Communist International and its Sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: (a) election of all the leading committees of the Party, subordinate and superior (by general

meetings of Party members, conferences, congresses and international congresses); (b) periodical reports by leading Party committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of superior Party committees to be obligatory for subordinate committees, strict Party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading Party centres.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the Party and by Party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent Party committees. After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various Sections, these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a Section of the Party membership or of the local Party organizations are in disagreement with it.

In cases where a Party exists illegally, the superior Party committees may appoint the subordinate committees and co-opt members on their own committees, subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent superior Party committees.

6. In all non-Party workers' and peasants' mass organizations and in their leading committees (trade unions, co-operative societies, sport organizations, ex-service men's organizations, and at their congresses and conferences) and also on municipal bodies and in parliament, even if there are only two Party members in such organizations and bodies, Communist fractions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the Party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organizations and bodies.

7. The Communist fractions are subordinated to the competent Party bodies.

Note: 1. Communist fractions in international organizations (Red International of Labor Unions, International Class War Prisoners' Aid Society, International Red Aid Society, etc.), are subordinate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2. The organizational structure of the Communist fractions and the manner in which their work is guided are determined by special instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International and from the Central Committees of the given Sections of the Comintern.

II. THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

8. The supreme body of the Communist International is the World Congress of representatives of all Parties (Sections) and organizations affiliated to the Communist International.

The World Congress discusses and decides programme, tactical and organizational questions connected with the activities of the Communist International and of its various Sections. Power to alter the programme and rules of the Communist International lies exclusively with the World Congress of the Communist International.

The World Congress shall be convened once every two years. The date of the Congress and the number of representatives from the various Sections to the Congress to be determined by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The number of decisive votes to be allocated to each Section at the World Congress shall be determined by a special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the given Party and the political importance of the given country. Delegates to the Congress must have a free mandate; no imperative mandate can be recognized.

9. Special Congresses of the Communist International shall be convened on the demand of Parties which, at the preceding World Congress had an aggregate of not less than one-half of the decisive votes.

10. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E.C.C.I.), and the International Control Commission (I.C.C.),

11. The headquarters of the Executive Committee is decided on by the World Congress.

III. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND ITS SUBSIDIARY BODIES

12. The leading body of the Cominunist International in the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee, which gives instructions to all the Sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

The E.C.C.I. publishes the Central Organ of the Communist International, in not less than four languages.

13. The decisions of the E.C.C.I. are obligatory for all the Sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. The Sections have the right to appeal against decisions of the E.C.C.I. to the World Congress, but must continue to carry out such decisions pending the decision of the World Congress.

14. The Central Committees of the various Sections of the Communist International are responsible to their respective Party Congresses and to the E.C.C.I. The latter has the right to annul or amend decisions of Party Congresses and of Central Committees of Parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them. (Cf. Par. 13.)

15. The E.C.C.I. has the right to expel from the Communist International, entire Sections, groups and individual members who violate the programme and rules of the Communist International or the decisions of the World Congress and of the E.C.C.I. Persons and bodies expelled have the right of appeal to the World Congress.

16. The programmes of the various Sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the E.C.C.I. In the event of the E.C.C.I. refusing to endorse a programme, the Section concerned has the right to appeal to the World Congress of the Communist International.

17. The leading organs of the press of the various Sections of the Communist International must publish all the decisions and official documents of the E.C.C.I. These decisions must, as far as possible, be published also in the other organs of the Party press.

18. The E.C.C.I. has the right to accept affiliation to the Communist International of organizations and Parties sympathetic to Communism, such organizations to have a consultative voice.

19. The E.C.C.I. elects a Presidium responsible to the E.C.C.I., which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E.C.C.I. in the interval between the meetings of the latter.

20. The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium have the right to establish Permanent Bureaus (Western European, South American, Eastern and other Bureaus of the E.C.C.I.), for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various Sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work.

Note: The scope of the activities of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. shall be determined by the E.C.C.I. or by its Presidium. The Sections of the Communist International which come within the scope of activities of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. must be informed of the powers conferred on these bureaus.

21. The Sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus of the E.C.C.I. Sections may appeal against the instructions of the permanent bureaus to the E.C.C.I. or to its Presidium, but must continue to carry out such instructions pending the decision of the E.C.C.I. or of its Presidium.

22. The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various Sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the E.C.C.I. or from its Presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the E.C.C.I. have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the Sections to which they are sent. Representatives of the E.C.C.I. must carry out their commission in close contact with the Central Committee of the Section to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the Central

Committee of the given Section, at Congresses and Conferences of that Section, if the line of the Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the E.C.C.I. Representatives of the E.C.C.I. are especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various Sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the E.C.C.I., to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

23. Meetings of the E.C.C.I. must take place not less than once every six months. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the E.C.C.I.

24. Meetings of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. must take place not less than once a fortnight. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the Presidium.

25. The Presidium elects the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to take decisions, and which also prepares questions for the meetings of the E.C.C.I. and of its Presidium, and acts as their executive body.

26. The Presidium appoints the editorial committees of the periodical and other publications of the Communist International.

27. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. sets up a Department for Work among Women Workers, permanent committees for guiding the work of definite groups of Sections of the Communist International (National Secretariats) and other departments for its work.

IV. THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

28. The International Control Commission investigates matters concerning the unity of the Sections affiliated to the Communist International and also matters connected with the Communist conduct of individual members of the various Sections.

For this purpose the I.C.C.

(a) Examines complaints against the actions of Central Committees of Communist Parties lodged by Party members who have been subjected to disciplinary measures for political differences;

(b) Examines such analogous matters concerning members of central bodies of Communist Parties and of individual Party members as it deems necessary, or which are submitted to it by the deciding bodies of the E.C.C.I.;

(c) Audits the accounts of the Communist International. The International Control Commission must not intervene in the political differences or in organizational administrative conflicts in the Communist Parties.

The headquarters of the I.C.C. are fixed by the I.C.C., in agreement with the E.C.C.I.

V. THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE E.C.C.I.

29. The Central Committees of Sections affiliated to the Communist International and the Central Committees of affiliated sympathizing organizations must send to the E.C.C.I. the Minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

30. Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of Central Committees of the various Sections are regarded as disruptive of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the Party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. Elected members of the Central leading bodies of the various Sections may resign before their time of office expires only with the consent of the E.C.C.I. Resignations accepted by Central Committees of Sections without the consent of the E.C.C.I. are invalid.

31. The Sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each other's conferences and congresses, and with the consent of the E.C.C.I., exchange leading comrades. This ap-

plies particularly to the Sections in imperialist countries and their colonies, and to the Sections in countries adjacent to each other.

32. Two or more Sections of the Communist International which (like the Sections in the Scandinavian countries and in the Balkans) are politically connected with each other by common conditions of struggle, may, with the consent of the E.C.C.I., form federations for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities, such federations to work under the guidance and control of the E.C.C.I.

33. The Sections of the Comintern must regularly pay affiliation dues to the E.C.C.I.; the amount of such dues to be determined by the E.C.C.I.

34. Congresses of the various Sections, ordinary and special, can be convened only with the consent of the E.C.C.I.

In the event of a Section failing to convene a Party Congress prior to the convening of a World Congress, that Section, before electing delegates to the World Congress, must convene a Party conference, or Plenum of its Central Committee, for the purpose of preparing the questions for the World Congress.

35. The International League of Communist Youth (Communist Youth International) is a Section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the E.C.C.I.

36. The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The E.C.C.I. must render the Parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transition to illegal conditions.

37. Individual members of Sections of the Communist International may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the Central Committee of the Section of which they are members.

Communists changing their domicile must join the Section in the country of their new domicile. Communists leaving their country without the consent of the Central Committee of their Section, must not be accepted into other Sections of the Communist International.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 126

THE COMMUNIST

MARCH, 1934

MILESTONES OF COMINTERN LEADERSHIP

By ALEX BITTELMAN

The proletarian vanguard of the United States can justly take pride in the fact that it participated actively in the building of the Communist International, whose fifteenth anniversary falls in March of this year. At the same time, the revolutionary vanguard of this country can derive deep satisfaction from the fact that it unfailingly received brotherly advice and guidance from the Communist International in the struggle for the revolutionization of the American working class. It was from the outset, and continues to be so, a *mutual collaboration* of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries, organized in a world party, for the victory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the establishment of a World Soviet Republic. The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Comintern needs neither explanation nor apology. A party that has opened up the epoch of the world revolution, and that is successfully building a classless society on one sixth of the earth, is cheerfully recognized and followed as the leading party of the world communist movement. And by the same token, the leaders of that party—first Lenin and now Stalin—are proudly followed as the leaders of the proletariat and of all oppressed in every country of the world.

If it were possible to imagine those years without a Communist International (which, of course, is impossible), these struggles for Communist unity would have been infinitely more protracted, wasteful, and harmful than was actually the case. But there *was* a Communist International, led by Lenin, and consequently, there was made available to the

revolutionary workers of the United States ~~the world ex-~~
periences and prestige of the Bolshevik movement which has
gone through a long struggle with opportunism and built up
a united Communist Party. These experiences the Comin-
tern utilized in order to help the American Communists of
those years to solve their own specific problems of unity and
these problems were solved. A unified and single Commu-
nist Party was materialized in the United States in shorter
time, less painfully and wastefully, than would have been the
case without the advice and assistance of the Comintern.

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We come now to another milestone of Comintern leader-
ship. This time it was the problem of breaking through *the*
walls of illegality erected by the American bourgeoisie be-
tween the young Communist Party and the working class.
The Communists, having been driven underground and out-
lawed by the forerunners of the present New Dealers—
Wilson-Palmer—in 1919-1920, were struggling to find their
way to the masses despite the illegality and governmental
persecutions. What were the special difficulties for the solu-
tion of this problem? They arose from the danger of seek-
ing to achieve legality by sacrificing Communist principles
and hiding the revolutionary line, on the one hand, and from
the danger of trying to preserve intact the Communist prin-
ciples by abandoning all serious fight for legal and open
work, on the other hand. The way to the masses, the Com-
munist Party could then find only by fighting and overcom-
ing these Right and "left" opportunist dangers. One of the
founders of the recently launched *Muste American Workers'*
Party, Hardman-Salutsky, was at that time especially ac-
tive in trying to switch the Communist movement to the path
of buying legality by sacrificing the revolutionary line. Lack-
ing the necessary Leninist training and experience, the
American Communist Party found it extremely difficult to
reach the correct solution of this task and was therefore
torn between the two opportunist dangers of legalistic liqui-

dation of the Communist Party and underground sectarianism. Once more the American Communists consulted with the Communist International. This was in 1921-1922. And the correct advice came; as it was bound to, and with its help the Workers' Party of America was organized which opened up for the illegal Communist Party of America wide opportunities for open revolutionary work among the masses. Illegal work, that is, revolutionary mass work that could not be done openly because of governmental persecutions, was not abandoned but continued; the illegal work supplementing the legal, and vice versa. The Party authority continued to rest in the underground Communist Party, as it should be under these conditions. And when the influence of the Communists in the Workers' Party had become firmly established, and the basic revolutionary mass work could be carried on through the Workers' Party legally, then the underground Communist Party became merged with the Workers' Party, that is, the latter became the Communist Party of the country. American Communism thus solved its immediate task and reached a higher stage in its development towards becoming the mass Party of the American proletariat.

What was it that proved especially helpful for the American Communists in the Comintern advice on legal and illegal work? It was the world and Russian experience of Bolshevism. Under Lenin's guidance the Bolsheviks had repeatedly met and solved such and similar problems and solved them successfully, as history has proved. The Bolshevik solutions, while primarily applied in Russia because there was the Party to do it, were based upon the experiences of the working class movement all over the world and thus acquired an international significance. The American Communists have been helped by the Comintern in applying these solutions to American conditions. In doing so they have not only *defeated* the efforts of the bourgeoisie to strangle the revolutionary movement in the period of 1919-1921, but have also acquired knowledge and skill to defeat

such efforts again, especially in the present period of sharp turn to fascism and war which inevitably brings new attacks upon the legality of the Communist Party and the working class movement as a whole. Will any sincere and militant worker in the United States, who is loyal to his class and its liberation from the misery and sufferings of capitalism, reproach the Comintern for having helped the American revolutionary workers to defeat the Wilson-Palmer persecutions? And will such a worker hold it against the American Communist Party for having accepted this helpful guidance? No, only Muste-Hardman & Co., led by the renegades, will indulge in such reproaches, because this warm and select company is echoing the raging chauvinism of the Yankee imperialist.

The next milestone in the Comintern leadership for the American Party we find on the question of trade union work. On this, more perhaps than on any other question, the left and militant elements in the American labor movement, in the two decades before the emergence of the Comintern (not to go into the pre-imperialist era), had got themselves tangled up in insoluble difficulties, torn between reformism and anarcho-syndicalism, only because they were unable, by their own efforts, to restore and further develop the revolutionary teachings of Marx and to apply them to the United States of the imperialist era. Lenin did that; but the American militants (even they) were too provincial, not enough international, because still influenced by bourgeois ideology, to find out what Leninism stands for and what it could do for the progress of the American working class. The Comintern brought the American militants and lefts closer to the world labor movement and to the basic problems of the American labor movement. The trade union question was one of them. The young American Communist movement struggled painfully to throw off the ballast of Gompers-Hillquit reformism and DeLeon-I.W.W. sectarianism, sometimes falling victim to the former, at other times to the latter, and occasionally to both. Even the best and most ex-

perienced among the left and militant leaders of the American workers, the builders and founders of the revolutionary movement of the American workers in the imperialist era, such as the late Charles E. Ruthenberg, as well as the present leader of our Party, William Z. Foster, were able to rid themselves and our movement of the old ballast of opportunism only by coming closer to Leninism and into the Comintern. By becoming *more international*, the proletarian vanguard in the United States has become also *more American*, because the international experience, as it is incorporated in Leninism and in Comintern guidance, helped the American Communists to come closer to the basic masses of the American proletariat and to begin to function as the leaders of its struggles against American capitalism.

It was Comintern advice and guidance that helped the American Communists to turn full face to the building of a left-wing in the reformist unions beginning with 1920; it was the advice of the Comintern that helped formulate a correct solution to one of the basic problems of the American proletariat—the organization of the unorganized into trade unions; it was advice of the Comintern on independent leadership of the economic struggles by the revolutionary elements that helped formulate strike policies and tactics; it was Comintern advice of how to revolutionize the labor movement, through organization and leadership of the daily struggles of the masses and systematic exposure and struggle against the reformists, that helped the American Communists to prove to wide masses of workers and toilers that the C.P.U.S.A. is the only true proletarian party in the United States and the leader of all exploited. In short, at every stage in the development of the revolutionary trade union movement in the United States (T.U.E.L., class struggle unions of the T.U.U.L., the application of the united front on the trade union field, the fight for trade union unity, etc.), it was with the help of the Comintern that the American revolutionary workers were able to find the correct way, to correct their errors and, through manifold changes in

tactics, to press on to the goal of building a revolutionary trade union movement in the United States.

Comintern influence on the development of revolutionary trade union policies in the United States has special significance. Here as in other capitalist countries the imperialist bourgeoisie, with the help of the reformists, succeeded in *splitting the working class*, setting the small minority of "labor aristocrats" against the basic mass of the proletariat. Following out this policy, the reformist trade union bureaucracy was persistently shutting out of trade union organization the bulk of the American proletariat, especially its most oppressed and exploited sections. This it was that constituted and still constitutes one of the chief weaknesses of the American working class. And the most damning indictment against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is its discrimination and exclusion of the Negro proletariat. It is significant, therefore, that the first question which Comrade Stalin put to the American trade union delegation was: "How do you account for the small percentage of American workers organized in trade unions?" And he added: "I would like to ask the delegation whether it regards this small percentage of organized workers as a good thing. Does not the delegation think that this small percentage is an indication of the weakness of the American proletariat and of the weakness of its weapon in the struggle against the capitalists in the economic field?" This was in 1927. Lack of space does not permit to deal here with the answer of the delegation. Suffice it to say that this delegation, made up as it was of so-called progressives, really bourgeois liberals, was in its answers, at best, very helpless and confused. But the intent of Stalin's question is clear: Why don't you organize the workers in trade unions? Why don't you strengthen them against the capitalists? And it was in this direction that the Comintern threw the full weight of its influence and advice in the American labor movement. Organize the basic sections of the proletariat into unions, liberate the existing mass trade unions from the stranglehold of the reformists,

and unify the trade union movement of this country—this was the nature of Comintern guidance to the revolutionary workers in the United States. Tactics and methods of work might vary, depending upon the state of the class struggle. In the light of recent events, the Communist Party favors the organization of independent unions *in those cases* where such a measure would constitute a *step in advance* towards the revolutionization of the trade union movement. But the strategic aim always remained the same, and for this aim the Communist Party fights bravely and persistently and with increasing effectiveness. The general crisis of capitalism, undermining the basis of existence of large numbers of the "labor aristocracy" as well as of the working class as a whole, creates ever more favorable conditions for the realization of this aim. So, we ask again: can any American worker, who is alive to the needs of his class and is willing to fight for them, find anything to object to in this "interference" of the Communist International in American affairs? And will he object to the Communist Party of the U. S. accepting and taking deep satisfaction in such "interference"? No, he will not. Only Muste and Co., abetted by the renegades, will object and will call it "outside dictation", because these groups echo the mad chauvinism of the Yankee imperialists.

We shall now relate another significant instance of Comintern leadership in the U.S. In the years 1921-1924, one of the important phases of the American labor movement was a widespread urge for the organization of a Labor Party. The left-wing in the Socialist Party, and the first Communist Party conventions, took a completely negative attitude towards it. But in their struggle to establish contact with the masses and with their movements against capitalism and its major political parties, the American Communists came to adopt the position of active participation in the Labor Party movements. The aim of this position was to accelerate the existing break-away movement of the workers and toiling farmers from the capitalist parties and to direct this move-

ment along the channels of independent working class political action. Comintern influence and advice strengthened the American Communists in this determination, thus helping to overcome the various sectarian objections to such a policy.

We come to a milestone of Comintern leadership in the U. S. that has been especially fruitful in making the fight for proletarian internationalism live and real and in projecting the liberating mission of the American proletariat in a most concrete and telling manner. We refer here to the Communist program for *Negro liberation*. It was no accident that this was the problem—the Negro problem in the U. S.—that it took the revolutionary workers of America *the longest*, in point of time, to become aware of and to find a solution for. Bourgeois ideology, the “white prejudices” of the old slave market, had poisoned the minds, not alone of the backward strata of the toilers, but also the most advanced sections. And thus we find that the left-wing of the Socialist Party which formed the Communist Party somehow “overlooked” the national-revolutionary significance of the Negro liberation struggles. And even when the American communists had finally begun to grapple with the Negro question in a Leninist way, starting practical mass work to organize the white and Negro toilers to struggle for Negro rights, there still was considerable hesitation and confusion among the weaker elements of the Communist movement to project boldly the full Leninist solution of the problem. Once more came the “outside” influence of the Comintern; and what did it say? It said that the struggle against discrimination and for Negro rights is a revolutionary struggle for the national liberation of the Negroes, that we must fight for complete Negro equality, and that in the Black Belt the full realization of this demand requires the fight for the national self-determination of the Negroes, including the right to separation from the United States and the organization of an independent state. Furthermore, it was the interpretation of Leninism and its application to the United States

as made by the Comintern that showed the American Communists that the agrarian revolution in the Black Belt, where the Negro masses are mostly peasants and semi-serfs, is the basis of the national-liberation movement and that this movement is one of the allies of the American proletariat in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Lovestone renegades advocate the bourgeois theory that capitalist development itself, the "industrialization of the South", will solve the Negro question. The Communist Party—following the lead of the Comintern—says that only the national-revolutionary movement of the Negroes, as an organic part and ally of the proletarian revolution, will solve the Negro question. From this point of view, the American Communists are able to expose the Muste-Hardman position on this question as bourgeois liberalism in words and Yankee white chauvinism in deeds. Will the Negro workers, farmers, and city poor consider the Comintern advice on the Negro question as "outside dictation"? No. They will, as they actually do, receive this advice with outstretched arms and will continue in ever-larger masses to rally around the Communist Party as the leader of the liberation fight. And will the white workers, those belonging to the dominating nationality in the United States but who are already awake to their true interests, will they perhaps resent this advice as "outside dictation"? No. Some of these class-conscious white workers may still hesitate because they are as yet not completely free from the bourgeois curse of white chauvinism, but none of them will say that this advice is not in the best interests of the American working class and of all exploited.

And lastly—the liquidation of the factional situation in the Communist Party. It is on this, more than anything else, that the Muste-Hardman outfit, led by the Lovestone renegades and the Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries, choose to illustrate the "outside dictation" and interference of the

Communist International. Well, the facts speak for themselves.

But this disaster *did not happen*. And why? Because the Comintern spoke to the American Party with authority and wisdom; in so speaking, in pointing out the dangers and the way to avoid them, the Comintern *released the initiative and creative activity* of the overwhelming majority of the Party, the initiative that had become paralyzed during the years of factional fight; and on the basis of this initiative of the Party membership, with the help of this power, the Party was able to cleanse itself of the hopelessly factional elements and of the Right and "left" opportunist groupings that went with the factions and thus laid the basis for the subsequent unification of the Party and its fresh start on the field of revolutionary mass work. The Comintern did "interfere"; there can be no doubt of that. And it is fortunate that it did.

In the fifteen years of its existence the Comintern has grown into a true World Party. It has reached the high stage where all "Communist Parties are carrying out one single line of the Comintern", a stage where all "Communist Parties are united by the Executive Committee of the Communist International into a single centralized World Party which the Second International never had and never will have" (Piatnitsky, Speech at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.). In this lies the main strength of the world revolution and the guarantee of its inevitable victory. It is this that makes possible, for the first time in the history of the world, the effective carrying out of a *world revolutionary strategy*, the only road to victory over capitalism. And it is in Comrade Stalin, since Lenin's death, that this strategy has found the greatest formulator, interpreter, and organizer. With the deepest pride in this achievement, the class-conscious workers of the United States, the militant

farmers and revolutionary Negroes will celebrate the 15th Anniversary of the Comintern. It is with the same feeling of pride that they will realize that they belong to a World Party together with the glorious Party of the Soviet Union; that they belong to a world Party which is daily guided by such proved leaders as Manuilsky, Kuusinen, Thaelmann and Piatnitsky; and that by building the revolutionary movement in the United States we are also building the world power of the proletariat for the victory of the world revolution.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 132

**THESES AND RESOLUTIONS FOR THE SEVENTH
NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE U. S. A.**

BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

MARCH 31—APRIL 4, 1930

**THESES ON THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION
AND TASKS OF THE PARTY**

SHARPENING WAR DANGER

4. The development of the economic crisis extremely sharpens the general contradictions of the capitalist system and brings still closer the danger of a new war.

In this situation the danger of an imperialist attack against the Soviet Union becomes particularly acute. A war against the Soviet Union, the fortress and outpost of the revolutionary working class of the world, is a war of the capitalist world against the realizing Socialist aim of the toiling masses, is at the same time for the capitalists an immediate outlet from the present economic crisis, giving to capitalism a new tremendous market of destruction and the hope of the reacquisition of the markets of the Soviet Union

and breaking the Socialism in construction in the Soviet Union, the tremendous economic advantages of which already begin to shake the capitalist world.

THE DAILY WORKER

20. To succeed in the full mobilization of the Party for its tasks the Central Committee must pay special attention to the press and primarily to the Daily Worker. In order to make the Daily Worker the political leading organ of the Party and at the same time an effective mass agitator and organizer, it is necessary to take steps immediately for the political improvement of the Daily as well as for the building of a mass circulation.

The Party must therefore make a sharp turn in its trade union activities. A full mobilization of all Communist forces must be carried through for the organization of the unorganized masses, for the building of the Trade Union Unity League. The T.U.U.L. must be made into an organization uniting the broad masses of workers, organizing them for the struggle of their daily interests, and leading that struggle along political lines. Through these struggles for their daily interests and through the organization of the workers for that struggle, the T.U.U.L. will bring the broad masses to an understanding and acceptance of Communist line, strategy and tactics. Being a school of revolutionary struggle for the broad working masses, the T.U.U.L. becomes a lever and the main reserve for the Party. All Communists must belong to the T.U.U.L.

RESOLUTION ON BUILDING THE TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE

PART I.—GENERAL ANALYSIS

I. THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

The most fundamental task of our Party in mass work is the building of the revolutionary unions of the Trade Union

Unity League into broad mass organs of struggle. The recent communications of the Comintern and Profintern have again laid stress upon this elementary necessity. It is in this work that there lies the key to the development of our Party into a mass Communist Party.

PART II—OUR CONCRETE TASKS

7. DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION—FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

In all the mass activities of the T.U.U.L. the question of the fight against the impending imperialist war and the struggle in defense of the Soviet Union must be kept in the very foreground. The T.U.U.L. must spare no effort to popularize the achievements of the Russian workers in building socialism. The masses of unemployed and radicalized workers are inspired by the progress of the Soviet Union and are highly receptive to our propaganda against imperialist war.

TASKS OF OUR PARTY IN THE SOUTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION

1. The situation in the South today confirms the previous estimates and perspectives laid down in the October thesis and makes clear the correctness of the thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International and the Tenth Plenum in placing the greatest emphasis on the importance of basing our Party solidly in the masses of Southern workers—Negro and white.

In particular does the present situation and the work of our Party over the period of a year confirm in the clearest manner the correctness of the Comintern in instructing our Party to concentrate its efforts among the Negro masses of

the South and bring forward in the sharpest manner the central demand of full social, economic and political equality for Negroes.

22. Organizational Proposals:

A director for work among Negro masses shall be sent South at once. A full-time six-week Party training school shall be established in some Southern centers. A number of colonizers must be secured for the decisive industries. Additional forces for the TUUL must be secured.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 133

THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
MARXISM-LENINISM

Published Monthly by the

Communist Party of the United States of America

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1930

NEXT TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE USA BY EARL BROWDER

FOR EQUALITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NEGROES

With the latest resolution of the ECCI on the Negro question, we are taking a bold step forward in concretizing a Bolshevist program. The struggle for the rights of the Negroes, for complete equality everywhere, and for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt where the Negroes constitute a majority of the population, is the path along which the Communist Party will unite with the workers a powerful ally in the struggle against American imperialism.

FORWARD TO NEW STRUGGLES—NEW VICTORIES

We enter a winter of deep crisis for world capitalism, and for capitalism in the United States. The forces of revolution are rising throughout the world. Buttressed and inspired by the magnificent march of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the oppressed classes and peoples all over the world are gathering their forces and are beginning to struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. In China already is rising the foundations of the Soviet Power. Throughout the colonial world the imperialist regime is shaking under the blows of the rising masses. In Germany and several other countries of Western and Central Europe a severe political crisis is rapidly bringing to maturity the conditions for a revolutionary struggle for power by the workers. In the United States capitalism plunges deeper and deeper into the worst economic crisis of its history, which already presses forty millions of the population into misery, cold and starvation, and prepares the stage for an unprecedented political crisis.

In this world situation the working class of the United States, and above all its vanguard, the Communist Party, has duties of supreme importance, not only for itself, but also for the world revolution. These duties can only be performed adequately by energetically readjusting all methods of work, by organizing the masses, mobilizing them for struggle for immediate demands, widening the ranks of the Party and building its cadres, building mass revolutionary unions, fighting for the unemployed and uniting them with the employed workers, drawing into the fighting front the poor farmers and Negro masses, and by rousing the masses to the struggle against imperialist war and for defense of the Soviet Union, and for support to the rising colonial peoples, all of which is the only path of preparation for our own "November 7th" which shall end the rule of capitalism.

Forward to new struggles and new victories!

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 135

THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
MARXISM-LENINISM

MAY, 1932

JAPAN, AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF EARL BROWDER AT THE
PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, APRIL 17, 1932.

We are meeting at a moment when tremendous changes are taking place in the world. It is not necessary for me to prove this fact by quoting long lists of statistics to show the unprecedented depth of the crisis.

In the present conditions, we must understand that in the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat against world imperialism, our stronghold, our fortress is precisely the Soviet Union, and its socialist construction. And we must understand that this socialist construction, the building of the socialist economy in the Soviet Union, is so profoundly important for the resistance to and the crushing of this imperialist war, that every month that is gained in postponing this war, means a change of the relation of forces in favor of us when the war comes. If the war can be postponed one month it means capitalism has been weakened that much, Socialism has been strengthened that much. It means that the Soviet Union has had another full 30 days to readjust all of its inner forces to meet the serious every day necessities that war will throw upon them.

When you understand that, you understand that not only every month is important, but every week is important, every day is important. You could almost even say that every hour is important. Our whole strategy is based upon the necessity to mobilize all forces by every means to post-

pone the outbreak of war, and the strategy of the imperialists is to force war as quickly as possible.

How can we mobilize the widest possible mass resistance to the entrance of the United States into war against the Soviet Union? Precisely by making use to the fullest possible extent of this certain historical factor, that the spearhead of the war is Japan and between Japan and the United States there is a long standing antagonism which, independently of us, has developed mass sentiment against Japanese imperialism. It is an absolute Bolshevik duty for the Communist Party of the United States to make the fullest possible mobilization of this mass sentiment no matter what its origin, against Japanese imperialism, mobilize this sentiment against the United States government to prevent it from entering into war against the Soviet Union together with Japan and the other imperialist powers.

The fullest possible mobilization of all such forces may not suffice to prevent whatever alignment will be determined by the capitalist class, by finance capital, upon the basis of their special specific understanding of their class interests. But even in the worst case, our mobilization can create additional difficulties for them, can weaken their mobilization to a certain extent, and thereby strengthen the capacity for resistance of the Soviet Union and the world proletariat.

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The struggle against war is concerned not only with these more complicated difficult problems. The struggle against the war danger, the defense of the Soviet Union cannot wield much force behind it unless it is intimately connected up with and based upon concrete struggles for partial demands of the workers in the United States.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 136

THE WAY OUT

A PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN LABOR

Manifesto and Principal Resolutions adopted by the Eighth
Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.,
held in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934

INTRODUCTION BY M. J. OLGIN

Published in May, 1934 by
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

INTRODUCTION

TERMS EXPLAINED

Renegades are those who were formerly members of the Communist Party but were expelled from it for failure to follow the correct revolutionary line and who now fight against the revolutionary movement and against the Soviet Union. One group of renegades is led by an individual named Lovestone and another considers Trotsky its leader. These elements are used by the capitalists to delude those workers who are becoming radicalized. The renegades profess to be Communists, "true Communists"; "real Communists", but they are as far from Communism as the leaders of the Socialist Party are far from Socialism. In their daily practice they work hand in hand with the reformists and are part and parcel of the social-fascist crew.

The *E.C.C.I.* is the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It is the general staff of the world revolutionary movement giving unity and leadership to the Communist Parties of the world. The E.C.C.I. meets in plenary session at intervals of between six months and one year.

The body acting in highest authority between one plenary session (Plenum) of the E.C.C.I. and the other, is the Presidium of the Communist International. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is the American Section of the Communist International (Comintern).

The Y.C.L. (Young Communist League) is a mass political organization of young workers which leads them in the struggles for all their demands and acts as a training school for Communism. The Y.C.L. is organizationally independent of the Communist Party but acknowledges its political leadership. It is affiliated to the Y.C.I. (Young Communist International).

Some abbreviations: C.C. means Central Committee of the Communist Party; D.O. means District Organizer of the Communist Party (there are twenty-six such districts in the United States).

AGAINST THE "NEW DEAL" OF HUNGER, FASCISM, AND WAR!
FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS!

*Manifesto of the Eighth Convention of the Communist
Party of the U.S.A.*

The crisis cannot be solved for the toiling masses until the rule of Wall Street has been broken and the rule of the working class has been established. The only way out of the crisis for the toiling masses is the revolutionary way out—the abolition of capitalist rule and capitalism, the establishment of the Socialist society through the power of a revolutionary workers' government, a Soviet government.

Its victories are an unending source of inspiration and encouragement to the toiling masses of every country. They are the living example of the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis in the interests of the toilers. The experience

of the victorious workers of the Soviet Union before, during and after the seizure of power, throw a brilliant light showing the path which must be followed in every land, the path of Bolshevism, of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

In the same period of successful testing of the Bolshevik road in the Soviet Union, we have also the example of the results of the policies of the Socialist Parties of the Second International.

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Their "civilized" methods opened wide the gates for the most barbarous regime in the modern history of Europe. Their "peaceful" methods gave birth to the most bloody and violent reaction. Their "democracy" brought forth the most brutal and open capitalist dictatorship. Their "gradual transition to Socialism" helped to restore the uncontrolled rule of finance capital, the master of fascism. The German and Austrian working class, after 16 years of bitter and bloody lessons of the true meaning of the policies of the Socialist Parties, of the Second International, have now finally begun to turn away from them and at last to take the Bolshevik path.

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There is no way out except by the creation of a revolutionary democracy of the toilers, which is at the same time a stern dictatorship against the capitalists and their agents. There is no way out except by seizing from the capitalists the industries, the banks and all of the economic institutions, and transforming them into the common property of all under the direction of the revolutionary government. There is no way out, in short, except by the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Socialist society.

Petitioner's Exhibit No. 137

RESOLUTIONS

SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

INCLUDING THE CLOSING SPEECH OF G. DIMITROFF
PUBLISHED BY WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow from July 25 to August 20, 1935.

THE PRESENT RULERS OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE BUT
TEMPORARY, THE REAL MASTER OF THE WORLD IS
THE PROLETARIAT

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

Ours is a Congress of struggle for the preservation of peace, against the threat of imperialist war.

We are now raising the issue of this struggle in a new way. Our Congress is decidedly opposed to the fatalistic outlook on the question of imperialist war emanating from old Social-Democratic notions.

It is true that imperialist wars are the product of capitalism, that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all war; but it is likewise true that the toiling masses can obstruct imperialist war by their militant action.

Today the world is not what it was in 1914.

Today on one-sixth of the globe there exists a powerful proletarian state that relies on the material strength of victorious socialism. Guided by Stalin's wise peace policy, the Soviet Union has already more than once brought to naught the aggressive plans of the instigators of war. (Applause.)

Today the world proletariat, in its struggle against war, has at its disposal not only its weapon of mass action, as it did in 1914. Today the mass struggle of the international

working class against war is coupled with the influence of the Soviet Union as a state, of its powerful Red Army, the most important guardian of the peace, (*Loud applause.*)

Today the working class is not under the exclusive influence of Social-Democracy participating in a *bloc* with the bourgeoisie, as was the case in 1914. Today there is the World Communist Party, the Communist International. (*Applause.*) Today the bulk of the Social-Democratic workers are turning to the Soviet Union, to its policy of peace, to a united front with the Communists. Today the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries do not regard their liberation as a hopeless cause. On the contrary, they are passing on more and more to determined struggle against the imperialist enslavers. The best evidence of this is the *Soviet revolution in China* and the heroic exploits of the *Red Army of the Chinese people*. (*Stormy applause. All delegates rise. Loud cheering.*)

* * * * *

Ours has been a Congress of a *new tactical orientation for the Communist International*.

Standing firmly on the impregnable position of Marxism-Leninism, which has been confirmed by the entire experience of the international labor movement, and primarily by the victories of the great October Revolution, our Congress, acting in the spirit and guided by the method of *living Marxism-Leninism*, has reshaped the tactical lines of the Communist International to meet the changed world situation.

* * * * *

Championing, as we do, working class unity, we shall with so much the more energy and irreconcilability fight for *unity within our Parties*. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us. (*Applause.*) Let this be a warning to those few elements

in individual Parties who think that they can take advantage of the difficulties of their Party, the wounds of defeat or the blows of the raging enemy, to carry out their factional plans, to further their own group interests. (*Applause.*) *The Party is above every thing else!* (*Loud applause.*) *To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye, is the first and highest law of Bolshevism!*

THE OFFENSIVE OF FASCISM AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

(*Resolution on the Report of Georgi Dimitroff, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International*)

I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

1. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that the alignment of class forces in the international arena and the tasks facing the labor movement of the world are determined by the following basic changes in the world situation:

(a) *The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Land of the Soviets, a victory of world importance, which has enormously enhanced the power and role of the U.S.S.R. as the bulwark of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, and is inspiring the toilers to struggle against capitalist exploitation, bourgeois reaction and fascism, for peace, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples.*

(b) *The most profound economic crisis in the history of capitalism, from which the bourgeoisie has tried to extricate itself by ruining the masses of the people, by dooming tens of millions of unemployed to starvation and extinction, and by lowering the standard of living of the toilers to an unprecedented extent.*

(c) *The offensive of fascism, the advent to power of the fascists in Germany, the growth of the threat of a new imperialist world war and of an attack on the U.S.S.R., by means of which the capitalist world is seeking a way out of the impasse of its contradictions.*

(d) *The political crisis, expressed in the armed struggle of the workers in Austria and Spain against the fascists, a struggle which has not yet led to the victory of the proletariat over fascism, but which prevented the bourgeoisie from consolidating its fascist dictatorship; the powerful anti-fascist movement in France, which began with the February demonstration and the general strike of the proletariat in 1934.*

(e) *The revolutionization of the toiling masses throughout the whole capitalist world which is taking place under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and of the world economic crisis, also on the basis of the lessons derived from the temporary defeat of the proletariat in the central part of Europe—in Germany—as well as in Austria and Spain, that is, in countries where the majority of the organized workers supported Social-Democratic Parties. A powerful urge for unity of action is growing in the ranks of the international working class. The revolutionary movement in the colonial countries and the Soviet revolution in China are extending. The relationship of class forces on a world scale is changing more and more in the direction of a growth of the forces of revolution.*

With this as its point of departure, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Communist Parties to be guided by the following instructions when carrying out the united front tactics:

1. *The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the latter against fascism, must be the starting point and form the main content of the workers' united front in all capitalist countries. In order to set the broad masses in motion, such*

slogans and forms of struggle must be put forward as arise from the vital needs of the masses and from the level of their fighting capacity at the given stage of development. Communists must not limit themselves to merely issuing appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship, but must show the masses *what they are to do today* to defend themselves against capitalist plunder and fascist barbarity. They must strive, through the joint action of the labor organizations, to mobilize the masses around a *program of demands that are calculated really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, demands, the fight to realize which, disorganizes fascism, hampers the preparations for imperialist war, weakens the bourgeoisie and strengthens the positions of the proletariat.*

Holding that the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that *a single mass political party of the working class* exist in every country, the Congress sets the Communist Parties the task of taking the ~~initiative~~ initiative in bringing about this unity, relying on the growing desire of the workers to unite the Social-Democratic Parties or individual organizations with the Communist Parties. At the same time it must be explained to the workers without fail that such unity is possible only under certain conditions: under the condition of *complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete severance of the bloc between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie*, under the condition that *unity of action* be first brought about, that the necessity of the *revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets* be recognized, that support of one's own bourgeoisie in *imperialist war* be rejected, and that the party be constructed on the basis of *democratic centralism* which ensures unity of will and action and has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.